

## Message Text

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SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR JOHNSON'S STATEMENT OF MARCH 10, 1974  
(SALT TWO - 552)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY AMBASSADOR  
JOHNSON AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF MARCH 10, 1975.

QUOTE

MR. MINISTER:

TODAY I WILL PRESENT SOME CONSIDERATIONS THAT FORM THE  
BASIS FOR THE PROVISIONS CONTAINED IN ARTICLE III OF THE U.S.  
DRAFT TEXT. THIS ARTICLE NOT ONLY CONTAINS THE EQUAL AGGREGATE  
LIMITATION ON DELIVERY VEHICLES FOR STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS,  
BUT IT CONTAINS AS WELL SPECIFIC PROVISIONS FOR IMPLEMENTING  
THAT LIMITATION IN AN UNAMBIGUOUS MANNER.

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PARAGRAPH 1 OF ARTICLE III LIMITS " ICBM, SLBM, AND ASBM LAUNCHERS AND HEAVY BOMBERS TO AN AGGREGATE NUMBER NOT TO EXCEED 2,400". THE INTERIM AGREEMENT WILL REMAIN IN FORCE UNTIL OCTOBER 3, 1977. ON THAT DATE AND IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE TERMS OF THE AIDE-MEMOIRE, THE 2,400 AGGREGATE LIMITATION WILL APPLY AND BOTH PARTIES WILL FROM THAT DATE BE PERMITTED NO MORE THAN THE 2,400 STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS SPECIFIED IN PARAGRAPH 1. ARTICLE III, WHEN CONSIDERED IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE DEFINITIONS CONTAINED IN ARTICLE II OF THE DRAFT TEXT, MAKES CLEAR EXACTLY WHAT SYSTEMS ARE TO BE INCLUDED IN THE 2,400 AGGREGATE LIMIT.

TAKEN IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE DEFINITION OF ICBMS IN ARTICLE II, ARTICLE III INCLUDES LAND-MOBILE ICBMS WITHIN THE 2,400 AGGREGATE LIMITATION. THIS IS ALSO CONSISTENT WITH THE UNDERSTANDING REACHED AT VLADIVOSTOK. IF EITHER SIDE SHOULD, UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT, DEPLOY LAND-MOBILE ICBMS, EACH LAUNCHER FOR SUCH MISSILES WILL BE INCLUDED WITHIN THE AGGREGATE LIMITATION.

TAKEN IN CONJUNCTION WITH ARTICLE II, ARTICLE III INCLUDES IN THE AGGREGATE LAUNCHERS FOR ASBMS WITH RANGES GREATER THAN 600 KM. INSTALLED ON BOMBERS. IN THE U.S. VIEW, THE OVERALL AGGREGATE LIMITATION AGREED TO AT VLADIVOSTOK AND REFLECTED IN THE AIDE-MEMOIRE APPLIES ONLY TO LAUNCHERS FOR SUCH MISSILES. IN OUR VIEW, THE SOVIET DRAFT GOES BEYOND THE VLADIVOSTOK UNDERSTANDING IN INCLUDING AIR-TO-SURFACE MISSILES "OF ANY TYPE" IN THE AGGREGATE AND ALSO IN CONTAINING A BAN ON AIR-TO-SURFACE MISSILES ON AIRCRAFT OTHER THAN BOMBERS.

THE SECOND SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH 1 OF THE DRAFT TEXT STATES THAT, " SUBJECT TO THE PROVISIONS OF THIS AGREEMENT, EACH PARTY WILL BE FREE TO DETERMINE THE COMPOSITION OF THE AGGREGATE." THIS PROVISION IMPLEMENTS THE IMPORTANT PRINCIPLE OF FREEDOM-TO-MIX WHICH WAS AFFIRMED IN THE AIDE-MEMOIRE. THE U.S. DRAFT CONTAINS NO LIMITATIONS ON FREEDOM-TO-MIX WITHIN THE 2,400 AGGREGATE EXCEPT THOSE LIMITATIONS DERIVED FROM THE INTERIM AGREEMENT WHICH THE TWO SIDES HAVE AGREED SHOULD BE CARRIED OVER INTO THE NEW AGREEMENT. IN CONTRAST, CERTAIN ELEMENTS OF THE SOVIET DRAFT WOULD IMPOSE ADDITIONAL CONSTRAINTS THAT WOULD SIGNIFICANTLY LIMIT FREEDOM-TO-MIX.

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## II

PARAGRAPH 2 OF ARTICLE III CONSISTS OF TWO PARTS DEALING WITH DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF THE SAME QUESTION; NAMELY, WHEN AND UNDER WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES SHOULD THE PARTICULAR STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS LIMITED BY PARAGRAPH 1 BE INCLUDED IN THE AGGREGATE? THE PROVISIONS IN THIS PARAGRAPH ARE NECESSARY IN ORDER

FOR THERE TO BE SPECIFIC UNDERSTANDINGS BETWEEN THE SIDES AS TO WHEN AND UNDER WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES EACH OF THE ARMS LIMITED BY THE AGREEMENT WILL BE SO INCLUDED.

SUBPARAGRAPH 2(A) SPECIFIES WHEN NEWLY PRODUCED ARMS WILL BE INCLUDED IN THE AGGREGATE. THIS SUBPARAGRAPH TAKES INTO ACCOUNT THE INHERENTLY DIFFERENT CHARACTERISTICS OF VARIOUS TYPES OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS. THE INTERIM AGREEMENT ESTABLISHED THE USEFUL PRECEDENT OF DIFFERENTIATING BETWEEN THE TIMES AT WHICH ICBM AND SLBM LAUNCHERS WOULD BE SUBJECT TO THE LIMITATIONS OF THAT AGREEMENT. THIS PARAGRAPH FOLLOWS THE SAME APPROACH IN DEALING WITH THE OTHER TYPES OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS TO BE INCLUDED IN THE AGGREGATE.

IN PARTICULAR, THE PROVISION FOR INCLUDING "FIXED ICBM LAUNCHERS THAT ARE EITHER OPERATIONAL OR UNDER CONSTRUCTION" IS BASED UPON ARTICLE I OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT. THE PROVISION FOR INCLUDING SLBM LAUNCHERS "WHEN THE SUBMARINE CARRYING SUCH SLBM LAUNCHERS BEGINS SEA TRIALS" IS BASED UPON AN AGREED INTERPRETATION OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT AND IS ALSO CONSISTENT WITH THE SCC PROCEDURES OF JULY 3, 1974. THE PROVISION FOR INCLUDING MOBILE ICBM LAUNCHERS, HEAVY BOMBERS, AND ASBM LAUNCHERS WHEN THEY "ARE FIRST BROUGHT OUT OF THE FINAL ASSEMBLY FACILITY" IS BASED UPON THE INHERENT CAPABILITY OF THESE SYSTEMS TO BE READILY DEPLOYED AFTER ASSEMBLY.

IT IS ALSO NECESSARY TO ACCOUNT FOR STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS WHICH ARE UNDERGOING OVERHAUL, REPAIR, OR CONVERSION OR ARE IN STORAGE OR RESERVE. THESE ARE COVERED BY SUBPARAGRAPH 2(B) OF ARTICLE III WHICH INCLUDES WITHIN THE 2,400 AGGREGATE LIMIT ALL LAUNCHERS FOR ICBMS, SLBMS, AND ASBMS AND HEAVY BOMBERS THAT ARE UNDERGOING "CONVERSION", "OVERHAUL", OR "REPAIR". SIMILARLY, SYSTEMS IN ANY TYPE OF "STORAGE", OR SYSTEMS PLACED IN "RESERVE",

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ARE INCLUDED WITHIN THE AGGREGATE. THE TERM "STORAGE" USED IN THE U.S. DRAFT IS MORE INCLUSIVE THAN THE TERM "MOTHBALLED" AND IS INTENDED TO MAKE CLEAR THAT THIS PROVISION INCLUDES SYSTEMS IN STORAGE REGARDLESS OF LENGTH OF TIME OR METHOD OF PRESERVATION.

### III

PARAGRAPH 3 SPECIFIES THAT "THE NUMBER OF ASBM LAUNCHERS" ON A BOMBER "SHALL BE EQUAL TO THE MAXIMUM NUMBER OF ASBMS WHICH EACH BOMBER IS CONFIGURED TO CARRY AT ONE TIME AND LAUNCH IN THE COURSE OF ONE MISSION." THIS PARAGRAPH IS DESIGNED TO ESTABLISH A CLEAR METHOD FOR DETERMINING FOR EACH BOMBER THE NUMBER OF ASMB LAUNCHERS TO BE INCLUDED IN THE AGGREGATE ON EACH SIDE.

### IV

PARAGRAPH 4 OF THIS ARTICLE SPECIFIED THAT "A HEAVY BOMBER EQUIPPED ONLY WITH ASBMS SHALL NOT ITSELF BE INCLUDED IN THE AGGREGATE." THE PARAGRAPH IS BASED ON THE CONSIDERATION THAT, JUST AS SUBMARINES CONTAINING SLBM LAUNCHERS ARE NOT INCLUDED IN THE AGGREGATE, HEAVY BOMBERS THAT ARE EQUIPPED ONLY WITH ASBM LAUNCHERS SHOULD NOT BE INCLUDED IN THE AGGREGATE.

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PARAGRAPH 5 PROVIDES FOR INCLUDING WITHIN THE AGGREGATE "ALL LAND-MOBILE BALLISTIC MISSILE LAUNCHERS COMPATIBLE WITH LAUNCHING AN ICBM". IN THE ABSENCE OF SUCH A PROVISION, THE LIMITATIONS ON THE AGGREGATE OF ARTICLE III COULD BE CIRCUMVENTED BY DEPLOYMENT OF LAND-MOBILE LAUNCHERS FOR BALLISTIC MISSILES OF LESS THAN ICBM RANGE WHICH ARE NEVERTHELESS COMPATIBLE WITH LAUNCHING AN ICBM.

MR. MINISTER, IN SUM, ARTICLE III IMPLEMENTS A MAJOR PORTION OF THE VLADIVOSTOK UNDERSTANDING. I WILL CONTINUE MY EXPOSITION OF OTHER ARTICLES OF THE DRAFT TEXT AT OUR NEXT MEETINGS. UNQUOTEJOHNSON

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